UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

A Pioneer Settlement

By JANE ADDAMS

A Look Ahead

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

War and Religion

By CHARLES E. BEALS

Women's Clubs and Internationalism

By ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

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EDITORS
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
FRANCIS NEILSON

ASSISTANT EDITOR
EDITH LLOYD JONES

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EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Charles E. Beals
Harry Foster Burns
Charles W. Casson
George Willis Cooke
Percy M. Dawson
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Charles F. Dole
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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXV THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1920 Number 15

THE NAMELESS FOLD.

O Shepherd of the Nameless Fold,
The blessed Church to be,
Our hearts with love and longing turn
To find their rest in Thee.
Thy Kingdom come! Its heavenly walls
Unseen around us rise,
And deep in loving human hearts
Its broad foundation lies.

From out our low, unloving state,
Our centuries of strife,
Thy hand, O Shepherd of the flock,
Is lifting us to life;
From all our old divided ways
And fruitless fields we turn
To Thy dear feet, the simple law
Of Christian love to learn.

O holy kingdom! happy fold!
O blessed Church to be!
Our hearts in love and worship turn
To find themselves in Thee;
Thy bounds are known to God alone,
For they are set above:
The length, the breadth, the height are one,
And measured by His love.

—*Mary Artemisia Lathbury.*

France is becoming alarmed at the rate her works of art are leaving the country. The rate of exchange has led to considerable purchases by English and American buyers, and the dealers' shops in Paris are said to be pretty much cleared out. She therefore proposes to checkmate this outflow by a prohibitive duty. The minimum rate proposed is 50 per cent, and from that point it runs close to 100 per cent. A picture, for instance, worth normally 250,000 francs would have a duty added of 200,000 francs. It is a question whether such a duty would accomplish its purpose. It would have to be divided between buyer and seller, in all probability falling more heavily upon the seller who would have to take less for his pictures. And it would be the small dealers that would be most affected, and the smaller, less significant pieces of art that would be thus secured for France. The great and rare works would for the most part be taken regardless of duty when they were really wanted. The proposal, however, has yet to be ratified by the Senate. F. N.

In England the export trade in art is also increasing. An advance report says that during 1919 art objects valued at more than $5,000,000 were exported from London alone to the United States, and that the first three months of this year showed an increase over last year's figures for the corresponding period, of over 100 per cent. F. N.

In a debate in the House of Lords recently on the advisability of hearing certain divorce cases *in camera,* the Archbishop of Canterbury moved the insertion of a new clause in Lord Buckmaster's Matrimonial Causes Bill, providing that the marriage of a person whose previous marriage had been dissolved under the provisions of this Act, and whose former husband or wife was still living, should not be solemnized in any church or chapel of the Church of England. This was considered by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York and others as a grave responsibility for the Church to assume, and they were apprehensive for the relations of Church and State if the amendment was adopted. Lord Buckmaster felt that the amendment went too far, remarking that the Church, since the Reformation, had never objected to the marriage of a divorcee in the Church, but said that he was willing to have the amendment binding on persons who were divorced under the provisions of his Matrimonial Causes Act. The vote was 51 against the amendment to 50 for it; it was thus ruled out by a majority of 1 vote. F. N.

A wireless from Moscow has told us that the world is on the eve of one of the greatest economic revolutions in its history, for Professor Rojdestvenski has discovered how to use the forces within the atom. After the information of the publicity departments as to the wholesale destruction of every atom of significance of the Romanoff system it is according to the law of compensation, fit and proper that Professor Rojdestvenski should in Soviet Russia establish the structure of atoms. This is extraordinary news. Does it mean the world of thought and action is to be turned upside down by people whose great occupation seems to be a devotion to the "methods of barbarism," so distasteful to the British Prime Minister? What will they do next? They have discovered an army that makes war without a General, apparently, for we have not heard anything authentic about the officers of the Soviet army. Furthermore, they have the only Platinum institute in the world. It is hard to tell what further shocks they are preparing for us. Who knows but we will wake up some morning and learn they have discovered a statesman? F. N.

Of all the strange documents given out to the gasping world by President Wilson,—not excluding the letters incident to the resignation of Secretary Lansing,—the suppressed speech to the American navy,

made by Mr. Wilson on August 11th, 1917, and kept secret until May 11th, 1920, is the most remarkable. At first reading, the President's address resembles an old man's oration to a class of recalcitrant schoolboys; surely the childish English of the document cannot otherwise be explained. And upon a second examination new mysteries appear; the President's mind wanders far afield, staggers, recovers balance, returns momentarily, then rushes madly off again. Consider the following sentence:

> Here are two great navies, not to speak of the others associated with us, our own and the British, outnumbering by a very great margin the navy to which we are opposed and yet casting about for a way in which to use our superior strength, because of the novelty of the instruments used, because of the unprecedented character of the war, because, as I have said just now, nobody ever before fought a war like this, in the way that this is being fought at sea, or on land either, for that matter.

Here is a specimen of executive phraseology that simply defies analysis; the average grammar school student would acquit himself more nobly. And surely the brain behind such an utterance is not in perfect order. Murder will out, and as time goes on we shall have many occasions for surprise. When the present administration vacates the Capitol and the muck-raking Republicans, equally selfish and ignorant, begin to stir the ashes, many a choice bit of official scandal will see the light of day. We are living through the saddest period in the history of the American nation. Have we learned our lesson? Let each one answer that question for himself. J. W. F.

It was Ibsen who said some years ago that the hope of the future lay with the women and the workers, and this sentiment has found more recent expression since the war. But it is more fundamentally true that the hope of the future lies with the youth of all lands. The most inspiring thing, from this view-point, is the spontaneous rising of the youth in all countries and the banding themselves together to work a new and better world. This Movement is as yet rather inarticulate, natural in its beginning stages, but the leaders in their respective countries are already talking and planning for an Internationale of Youth, similar to the Internationale of the Intellectuals already set in motion by Barbusse under the name "Clarté." The Student movement in China and the increasing libertarian sentiment among the students in Japan, the well-organized movement of young people in Denmark, planning an international conference of youth to devise means of combatting separatist and nationalistic policies and building up an understanding and friendship between nations, the rising of the young people of Sweden and Norway for similar purposes, the French League of Youth already beginning to co-operate with the new Clarté to create an international bond of friendship—all these are most hopeful signs for the future. Switzerland is the home of a newly formed international bureau of youth which is seeking to develop contacts between young people of progressive tendencies throughout the world. The same spirit is stirring in England, although the forward-looking young people are temporarily held back by conservative leaders, but they will yet find themselves. And in the lands that were once the Central Powers there is arising a magnificently sturdy movement of young people, not yet thoroughly co-ordinated, still searching for new ways of expression, but speaking and working for true democracy with a wonderful clarity of vision and strength of purpose. The Freideutschejugend, the Jungendbewegung, the Weltjugendliga and similar movements are already doing much to rebuild the new Germany. The youth of Russia are no longer the mystery they have been for the past few years. The All-Russian Congress of October, 1918 founded the All-Russian Communist Young People's League which by last reports has over 80,000 members in some 700 groups. The League publishes some 15 magazines and two dailies. While class-conscious to a great degree, the activities of the League are not only economic and political, but educational and cultural. J. H. R.

The form that this young peoples' movement has taken in this country is called "Young Democracy." It was organized about a year ago by a small group of students in Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary and has already attained considerable headway. It has spread to many other universities and colleges, and groups are being organized in churches and communities, wherever young people are interested. The stated purpose of the Young Democracy is as follows:

> To make ourselves and other young people scientifically intelligent on the problems that confront us; to translate into effective action the vision and energy of youth; to unite with the young men and women of other countries in furthering international understanding and co-operative action.

A strong national organization has been formed with headquarters at 51 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, and a most attractive paper, entitled *Young Democracy,* is published twice a month with Devere Allen as editor. There is no limit to the value of such a Movement here in this country, in creating an informed public opinion, in developing leaders, and in making for a peaceful and just solution of our domestic and international problems. The leaders of Young Democracy deserve the best we have to give for the great influence they may exert in America, and also because an Internationale of the Youth of all lands is the brightest promise of a nobler future for humanity. J. H. R.

Senegalese Troops in Europe

It was only natural that Millerand should in an interview with an American correspondent give his Senegalese troops a coat of whitewash. It was natural that the French Premier should deny the reports of the behavior of these troops in the occupied areas on the right and left banks of the Rhine. Millerand is there for that purpose, and when there is the slightest danger of Americans protesting against the actions of French militarists, there is of course a correspondent in the ante room ready for an interview to be cabled over to the press in this country which seems sometimes to be more interested in the welfare of the political and commercial interests of the French government than in the reputation of the French people. Now that the evidence of what has taken place in the areas infested by the Senegalese has reached America the denials of Millerand seem not only stupid but inane. There can be no doubt that a very terrible state of affairs has been permitted by the French military authorities, but there is besides the very grave danger to be considered from all this as to what effect the garrisoning of two hundred thousand Senegalese and other African troops in Europe will have upon the next generation. Many of the French journals are moved to deep indignation and protest against the military policy of their imperialists. In Great Britain this question is discussed by all the papers that are not in some way or another tied to the Coalition government. The *Daily Herald* published an article from the pen of Mr. E. D. Morel in which he described the condition of affairs as reported to him from trustworthy French sources. Mr. Morel has since received a letter from Brigadier-General C. B. Thomson, C. B. E., D. S. O., who was on the staff of the First Army Corps under Sir Douglas Haig, and whose brigade in 1918 was the first to enter Jerusalem. At Versailles General Thomson was the British military representative on the Supreme War Council. Before the War he had served in several South African campaigns; from 1911 to 1914 he was on the War Office staff. General Thomson's letter reads as follows:

> "I have read your letter in to-day's *Daily Herald* with great interest and share to the full your horror and disgust at the employment of black French troops in Germany. Having had some experience on the West Coast of Africa, I can confirm what you say as to the sexual proclivities of these men, to whom, in default of women of their own race, intercourse with European women is a necessity which has to be met. The contamination is mutual, both from a physical and moral point of view, and, in pre-war days, formed one of the worst features of Military Tournaments and Coronation Reviews in which colored troops took part.
>
> "There is another side to this question, which, though not so physically revolting, is even more serious—savages are being trained to the use of arms and taught to despise the European races, at one and the same time. Their worst qualities are being stimulated and they will return to their native lands restless, dissatisfied, ripe for any mischief, and the ready tools of those who wish to stir up strife. France is, in fact, engaged in militarizing Western Africa. The consequences will be incalculable and uncontrollable. They will first be felt in the French African colonies, but will extend and creep over the whole continent of Africa.
>
> "This suicidal policy is the work of a small clique of reactionaries and militarists who serve the interests of industrial magnates. Ever since the signing of the Armistice, both the French and British governments have submitted to dictation by these men, and until they are reduced to impotence no remedy will be found.
>
> "The publicity you are giving to these atrocious happenings in Germany will, it is to be hoped, rouse an apathetic public to sane realization of the iniquities sanctioned by the Peace Treaties and also of the total incapacity of the men who made those Treaties to deal with modern problems either at home or abroad.
>
> "By your plucky action in exposing these horrors, you are, in my opinion, rendering a great public service, and that success will attend your efforts must be the wish of every honest man."

It is just as well to have the opinion of a distinguished English soldier as to the gravity of the policy of the French militarists with regard to the recruiting of Senegalese, Berbers, and Moroccans, for European use. It is also well to know from a British military representative on the Supreme War Council that the "suicidal policy is the work of a small clique of reactionaries and militarists who serve the interests of industrial magnates." FRANCIS NEILSON.

A Look Ahead

What we see about us in nearly every part of the world at the present time assures us that the after effects of war are terrible. Our minds have been harrowed too deeply and persistently for the last five years to make it desirable that we should dwell again upon the depredations, the cruelties, and the horrors which accompany war, whenever and wherever it occurs. Its after effects are greater and more terrible in many respects than war itself, fearful as that may be. They continue for many years, and in some particulars are never outgrown. The strong and the capable are killed, and the next generation is bred of those weaker and less efficient. The humanities and the amenities no longer serve their old purposes, and it requires a prolonged period for their recovery. The

hatreds born of war it is almost impossible to eradicate, and they prepare the way for more wars, perhaps even more destructive than the last. Science increases the power of destruction, and those best capable of advancing its interests in the next generation are slaughtered with those not even capable of an understanding of its mission. Culture grows narrow and doctrinaire, and it loses its international and developmental force.

The great loss of life, the overthrow of industrial and economic interests, the enormous waste of wealth, the immense burden of debt heaped on the warring nations need not be dwelt upon, for we already know these evils only too well. Every phase of life is out of joint following a prolonged war, and it requires a considerable period for the recovery of normal and sane conditions. Cripples there are too many, lives shattered beyond recovery, homes that will never be homes again, minds that have lost balance and capacity for right thinking; and all because wars are regarded as necessary.

Since these evils have been detailed for us repeatedly, and in full measure of their devastating effects, it may be well to consider what of good, if any, may be found resulting from the great war that even yet lingers on in Europe. There are those who think the evils so far outweigh the good that the latter is not to be mentioned, for to them it does not exist. Where the evils are of such tremendous proportions, how is it possible that any real good is to be found? And yet the good may be there, hidden in the evil, though not a part of it. Perhaps the good that is most important is that war breaks the old bonds, destroys the autocracies which held men in their grip for centuries, and permits of reforms which have striven for considerable periods to find their opportunity. We know that the French Revolution destroyed what of feudalism had lingered to the end of the eighteenth century, and in that respect was a good for which the world ought to be greatly thankful. The evils were many, the horrors were great; but the revolution wiped out of existence feudal domination, the wrong of serfdom, and the curse of aristocratic rule. The revolution, however, did not complete its task, as no revolution does. Other revolutions have followed, in 1830, in 1848, in 1871; and smaller ones too many to enumerate. The autocratic powers were too strongly intrenched to permit of their complete overthrow, and most of these revolutions seemed to have no other effect than to bind men more strongly with their chains.

The revolutionary spirit has been growing through all the years, in spite of autocracy, domination of kings, and power of old ideas and beliefs. It could not be suppressed, but gripped the minds of a greater number of men and women in every succeeding generation; and with a surer insistence that freedom must be won. The great war, now getting towards its final ending, we may hope, has given opportunities never before coming to those who have hungered for liberty and justice.

The revolution in Russia has mingled evil and good, as is the case with all revolutions. Those who see only the evil forget the nature of the government which had existed in that country for many centuries; and to what a degree it was tyrannical, autocratic, and bigoted. It left nine-tenths of the people in ignorance and poverty; it killed, imprisoned or banished all those who sought for reforms, and it utterly failed to care for and protect its people. Strange to say, our own government, knowing these conditions, was more friendly with the Russian government than with almost any other. Famine devastated Russia only a few years ago, result of the incapacity of the government of that country. The story of Siberian exile, and the horrors which attended it, is known to all who read. The misery of the peasants, and the abject poverty in which they were held, has been repeatedly made known to us. Tolstoy has all too truthfully told us of the conditions which existed in Russia, and of the imbecility of its rulers. Here was poverty, misery, disease, famine, ignorance, superstition in such degree that we could but shudder at the details of the story, and marvel that rulers were anywhere capable of such blindness and bigotry and cruelty. In such a land reform or revolt seemed impossible. Who was there to lead a revolution? Tolstoy made no movement towards securing it. The nihilists were impotent. Those who went to the people failed to arouse the peasants. All seemed dark and forbidding. Then came the war with Japan, with the result that a revolution broke out, but failed because the people were not ready. We said it only proved that revolution is impossible in such a land as Russia, with no middle class, and with no proletarian class of proportions sufficient. There followed the war with Germany, and the revoluiton came. What will be its final outcome?

What will be the end no one can say. This at least we know, that the old tyranny has been destroyed, and with no indication at present that it can ever again be revived. To have rid the Russian people of the nightmare burden that rested on it, in the shape of its government, was so much to be desired, that we may well overlook any evils which the Soviet rule has brought in its place. War in this regard has been a great blessing. Perhaps the old tyranny would have gone on for centuries to come, had it not been for the conflicts with Japan and Germany. Had the Russian government been wise, conceded what the people wanted, and what was necessary to the real prosperity and growth of the nation, the revolution would not have come as it did. It is said that whom the gods would destroy they first make blind; and there can be no doubt that the government of Russia was blind to the uttermost. That it has been destroyed, who

can regret? Was it not requisite that it should be destroyed, in order that anything better should take its place, in view of its bigotry and its refusal to learn anything whatever?

There can be no question that the Soviet government will, in its turn, be destroyed, if it is as bad as its enemies report it to be. Whether it will live or perish depends on its ability to learn, to profit by experience. In the outcome, however, we may be fairly certain that a better government will appear in Russia. It may require many years, as it did in France succeeding the revolution there, before a stable government, whatever its faults, may come into existence. In that great and promising land of Russia, we may feel confident that the final result will be for the bettering of its millions. The road may be long, the experiences hard and bitter; but in the end Russia will take its place among the great free nations of the world.

For many years the people of Germany have been seeking for more of freedom, a larger liberty of action, an extension of the suffrage, and a larger degree of economic opportunity; but all in vain, because the autocracy was intrenched in power, and would not relax its grip. Democracy was in demand, and was largely organized in the Social Democracy; but all in vain did it strive for a broadening of the government. The aristocrats would concede nothing, and believed they could go on forever to continue to grasp power and privilege. There was no promise that the old order would be reformed or changed in any essential degree. It seemed as fixed as the hills, as certain as sunrise. And yet it has collapsed and disappeared, the Kaiser is an exile, the aristocratic party broken and prostrate.

The revolution came in Germany as in Russia, and war was the immediate cause in the one country as in the other. War itself is revolution, and that of the most deadening kind. What it does sometimes, when it is prolonged and destructive, is that it gives opportunity for new experiments and for the trying out of what had been preparing for many years. The situation in Germany is evidently almost desperate, and the burdens upon the people very great. They are being punished, too, for what they would have avoided, if it had been possible. We may assure ourselves, however, that a better Germany is growing out of the ruins of the old despotism; and that it will arise wiser and juster. Germany is too great, and too essential to the company of nations, to remain in the slough of despond; and we may look to a greater future for it in the forthcoming years of the century. Its sins have been those of its masters, and if the people have learned wisdom from the terrible experiences through which they are passing a nobler country will arise on the ruins of the old. Shall we not believe that this will come to pass?

Russia and Germany have become republic, as has many another country of Europe in the last two or three years. A change in the form of government may not mean much, and sometimes has no real meaning whatever; but under a republic there may be more of freedom, larger opportunities, a greater extension of justice and opportunity. In this sense the war has liberated Germany, as it has liberated Russia. Science emphasizes the importance and necessity of experiment, the trying of fresh methods; and why may not this be desirable in government as in physics? What the war has accomplished for Germany and Russia is to give them the freedom of experimentation in government, to try new methods, to seek for a better way. It may require many years to ascertain what is most to be desired. A better way will be found, we must hope; and that way will be better, assuredly, if it permits freedom to the people, and enables them to rule themselves.

Say what we will about the evils of the war, here is some promise of what is good resulting from it. And these are not the only signs of promise which have appeared on the horizon since the terrible conflict has had its day. One of its evils, surely, has been the unrest of the workers of all lands. The strikes, the labor agitations of all kinds, may be viewed as wholly evil or they may be regarded as new promises for the toilers. As never before in the world's history, the wage-earners are alive, demanding freedom, seeking a larger field of effort. They are no longer contented to take their wage and spend it as best they can. They ask to be partners in production, masters of their own labor and time, free to find some measure of joy in life, and to find beauty and wholesomeness in their toil. In this is promise of larger things for manual workers, even if for the moment every kind of evil seems attendant on what the wage-earners are demanding. We can but feel that a new life is developing for the workers, that the old antagonisms of capital and labor, employer and employee, are being adjusted to more rightful relations, and that those who labor with their hands will have more of compensation, fewer hours, and more of the joy of existence.

And a new freedom is coming for women. A greater degree of equality with men, a more rightful compensation for their labor, freedom to exercise their abilities wherever opportunity offers, right to the suffrage and to full citizenship, right to their own children as mothers, compensation for motherhood, full recognition of the great task of bringing children into the world (perhaps the greatest known to humanity) —all these enlargements of woman's life were certain to come in the not remote future. It is equally certain, however, that the great war has brought these enlargements of woman's life nearer by some decades. This is, of course, only a secondary result of the war, as in the instance of the larger opportunities for

the workers. Why have we a right, however, when we are enumerating the evils of war, to overlook these compensations? No apology need be made for war. Its evils are too numerous and too large in extent to make that possible. Not by one whit would we apologize for its enormities or excuse its desolations. There it stands, a grim and awful thing, with no word to be said in its behalf which will lessen the wrong it does to mankind, and especially to women and children. The grief, the hunger, the disease, the desolation war brings we cannot forget; and we have no wish to mitigate their curse in the slightest degree. Those who insist on war know not what they ask of mankind or how despicable what they plead for. War is a curse that has scourged mankind for thousands of years; and not one word can be said for it today which is not mean and untruthful.

The good which war brings is not directly result of its presence in any land. Always an evil, never other than a curse, even when liberty is being fought for, its good results come incidentally or even by accident. Revolution, new governments, needed reforms, fresh experiments in national existence—these are not what those who plead for war are aiming to secure. Indeed, these are the very last products of war at which they are aiming. Nevertheless, revolution, freedom, new governments, larger liberties sometimes follow wars. These results we may rejoice in, even if we can find no good in war itself. When the old governments break down as the result of war, then new ones must take their place. When war ends the old autocracies, then larger freedom may come to the men who labor and to the women who give us the new generations. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

THE UNKNOWING.

They do not know the awful tears we shed,
  The tender treasures that we keep and kiss;
They could not be so still, our quiet dead
  In knowing this.

They do not know what time we turn to fill
  Love's empty chalice with a cheaper bliss;
They could not be so still—so very still
  In knowing this.

—*Theodosia Garrison.*

SPRING.

At the first hour, it was as if one said, "Arise."
At the second hour, it was as if one said, "Go Forth."
And the winter constellations that are like patient ox-eyes
Sank below the white horizon at the north.

At the third hour, it was as if one said, "I thirst";
At the fourth hour, all the earth was still:
Then the clouds suddenly swung over, stooped, and burst;
And the rain flooded valley, plain and hill.

At the fifth hour, darkness took the throne;
At the sixth hour, the earth shook and the wind cried;
At the seventh hour, the hidden seed was sown,
At the eighth hour, it gave up the ghost and died.

At the ninth hour, they sealed up the tomb:
And the earth was then silent for the space of three hours.
But at the twelfth hour, a single lily from the gloom
Shot forth, and was followed by a whole host of flowers.

—*John Gould Fletcher.*

CONTRIBUTED

War and Religion

By Charles E. Beals

II.—MILITARISM NOW THE CHIEF HINDRANCE TO CIVILIZATION.

Although organized warfare originally grew up out of human need, it has ceased to be beneficial, and at present militarism is the chief hindrance to civilization. In fact, man's social, industrial, ethical and religious development has gone as far as it can go, so long as militarism remains dominant. Militarism must be abolished, or the human race will cease to progress and reversion surely will take place.

Militarism is unscientific in many ways. It is horribly wasteful of human lives and man power, and, by killing off the strong and leaving the inferior to breed, it reverses the biological law of improvement through selection. The downfall of militaristic nations attests the inevitable race deterioration under a war policy. The financial waste under militarism is equally ruinous. The welfare of unborn generations is mortgaged to pay the enormous debts of the war-mad nations of today. Militarism, moreover, is unscientific because its peace-by-threat theory is anti-psychological, utterly untenable in the light of history. Because of the psychological effect of armaments upon their owners and upon the neighbors of their owners, armaments precipitate the very catastrophe they are designed to avert. Furthermore, the settlement of international disputes by a resort to arms is a backward step in the evolution of political and juridical science.

Militarism is emphatically unsocial. Nothing so effectually hinders the broadening out of group sympathy into universal benevolence as does the war system. The anti-social influence of militarism is exerted in two spheres: first, within the nation itself; and, secondly, in international relations. Militarism is reckless of civilians and civil rights; it discriminates against the working class and is the favorite tool of the exploiters of the working class; under its sway womanhood and childhood are subordinated to soldier comfort and efficiency; the natural evolution of co-operation in peaceful industry is thwarted, and labor is prostituted to the non-productive and unholy task of man-killing. Between nations, the anti-social force of militarism makes squarely against the natural trend toward international co-operation. While all the vital necessities of society converge upon world unity and pan-humanism, militarism, hypocritically masquerading under the name of patriotism, constitutes the one divisive force. Such a patriotism, it scarcely need be said, is not genuine patriotism, but a counterfeit, narrow, provincial, gun-toting, blood-spilling, loud-mouthed nationalism, which makes impossible the realization of world brotherhood.

Our third count against militarism is that it is anti-democratic. Where militarism is, there democracy cannot be. We need not go far afield, or turn back to ancient history, to prove this. Our own experience during the past three years furnishes ample proof. In this "land of the free," in which American citizens imagined that certain rights and liberties were guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States, every constitutional right has been violated by civil and military officials, under the guise of war-time legislation and the plea of military necessity.

Self-government, free speech, freedom of press, free assembly, habeas corpus, trial by jury, protection against cruel and unusual punishments, exemption from war except when war is declared by Congress—all these treasured constitutional rights have been swept away, temporarily at least, if not permanently, under our experiment in militaristic imperialism. The constitution is openly violated by those who solemnly swore to uphold that charter of our liberties. High-minded men and women are being tortured in American prisons for the unconstitutional crime of claiming their constitutional rights. Instead of a "world made safe for democracy" (what shameless hypocrisy!), we have an America spy-ruled and an America governed by law-breakers. And so must it ever be in any land which gives itself over to militarism.

Worse still, militarism is anti-moral. It sanctions deception, not only to mislead the enemy but to "put over" government propaganda in the homeland. It breeds certain well recognized, but ugly, characteristic "soldier vices." It professes to take away moral responsibility from the individual and lodge it in an impersonal government. It is taken for granted that military commands abrogate the eternal moral law. Suffice it to say that if moral responsibility *is* taken away from the individual, he ceases to be a moral being and hence becomes incapable of ethical conduct and personality. But if moral responsibility is *not* taken from the individual, then he who carries out a military order in violation of his own conscience thereby commits moral suicide. Again, militarism is immoral because of its inhumaneness. War barbarizes and brutalizes as nothing else does or can. It breeds hate, and hate and morality cannot dwell in the same soul. In its financial aspects, militarism stands revealed as immoral. No money is bloodier than the dividends from war munitions business; commercialism reaches its vilest depths in blood dividends. Politics, too, and national life are tainted by militarist salesmanship. Government and business alike are debauched by militarism's commercial transactions. Indeed it remains to be seen whether there still exists enough moral soundness in the nation to slough off the deadly putridity of dishonesty and wholesale graft, or whether individual and public morals must succumb to the almost universal moral rottenness engendered by militarism. Every feature of militarism, when scrutinized carefully, proves to be not merely non-moral, but positively immoral and anti-moral.

Most ominous of all is the fact that militarism is anti-religious. Militarism exalts animalism and suppresses soul. Moreover man's relation to the God of righteousness and love is conditioned upon righteous and loving relations to one's fellow men—fellow sons of the Universal Father. The feelings generated by, or necessary in, war, are incompatible with the dispositions which Jesus described as characterizing God's true followers. Ethical religion posits the brotherhood of man. Militarism forbids even the thought of universal brotherhood, and makes it a high crime to talk of it. Thus the issue is joined.

Because militarism is unscientific, anti-social, anti-democratic, anti-moral and anti-religious, it today constitutes the chief hindrance to civilization. We have now reached the gravest crisis in human history. Either civilization or militarism must go down.

(*To be continued.*)

A Pioneer Settlement

The capacity for growth, for hospitality to new ideas, for regarding opposition as but a stimulus to greater resource and ingenuity, may account for the spirit of adventure which runs through the many vivacious pages of "Canon Barnett, His Life, Work and Friends." Certainly his life grew constantly as did his plans and the doctrines behind them and no one can so charmingly trace this vigorous and beneficent growth as his wife, who was also his comrade and fellow-worker.

Mrs. Barnett is, in fact, entitled to a record of her own, not only for the multitude of good works in which she aided and abetted her husband, for the dozen thriving philanthropic undertakings which she herself inaugurated, but for her own distinct achievement of the Garden City Suburb at Hampstead Heath, which is becoming almost a model for the new housing schemes which at present are being discussed throughout the length and breadth of England. This comes about not only through Mrs. Barnett's membership on the Parliamentary Commission for Housing, but because of the national determination to provide beauty as well as comfort for workingmen's families.

Mrs. Barnett is, indeed, introduced to us early in these two volumes through her interest in better housing for the poor, for it was when she was serving under Octavia Hill as a "lady rent collector" that she met the young Curate who had recently refused a living near his beloved Oxford that he might take a parish in the neglected East End of London. The love story is charmingly told, the gradual recognition on the part of the gifted and accomplished girl of the worth and charm hidden under awkward manners so unlike the drawing room variety she was accustomed to see in her father's ample house in the West End. The wonderful discovery once made, it became her joy through many years to interpret her husband to others, to supplement his amazing initiative by what she was pleased to call her lesser gift for carrying on, to so fuse her energy and enthusiasm for social reform with his that in the Vicarage of St. Jude's, in Toynbee Hall, in the Canon's House in Bristol, or in the close of Westminster Abbey, it is difficult to separate their achievements one from the other.

The book in a sense is a history of modern social movements, at least so far as England is concerned and of their underlying forces, largely revealed through the character of those in whom the forces found expression. It divulges these methods through what might be called the case method, in an East London parish which Samuel Barnett and his gifted wife so heroically insisted should not be separated from the rest of the Nation.

For many years, in their efforts to alleviate the harshest poverty, they worked through The Board of Guardians, The Charity Organization Society, The University Extension Movement, the Mutual Benefit Associations, the Trades Unions. One of Canon Barnett's best qualities was his ability to throw his ideas into a common stock and work in harmony with men of many shades of opinion. But he was a fervent, if, at the same time, a cautious reformer, and as he pursued his independent way into ever more accurate and sympathetic knowledge of the poor he threw aside many established methods as inadequate, even designating some of them as soul destroying for the

very people whom they were designed to serve.

"Practical Socialism" came to mean to him the responsibility of the Government and the Municipality to provide a minimum of education, recreation and of comfort for the whole population; to give to all citizens the basic opportunity for a civilized life, even although it might require for some of them insurance against unemployment and pensions for old age. The Barnetts were much too pragmatic, too absorbed in the actual demands of the neglected East End, to tie themselves to any one theory of social reform, and they also saw with increasing indignation the havoc of character, the sordid shifts and struggles for which large public funds and the competition of charitable and religious agencies were responsible. They therefore longed to bring into East London not, primarily, schemes or funds, but sympathetic people ready to make friends with the poor and to draw them out of their narrow environment.

The number of their reforms and undertakings is much too long to be enumerated. Perhaps two of the humblest appeal especially to a citizen of Chicago; the first concerns their effort to rid the district of slaughter yards, not only for the familiar reasons, but because almost the only contact the children had with animal life came through their efforts to push along the harried beasts brutally driven through the streets; an adventure which often incited the older children to deeds of ingenious cruelty. It illustrates once again the fatal tendency of our city streets to twist even chivalric and generous impulses into vicious and tawdry expressions, for doubtless many times the older children were, at least in their own minds, protecting the omnipresent babies from trampling hoofs. Such a situation as this hurried forward the plan—as yet unheard of—for systematically sending the children into the country for the holidays. They must have felt repaid for much effort when one of the children wrote back: "There are no strikes out here although there are very many wasps."

The Barnetts also abolished a dust destroyer which apparently necessitated the spilling of much West End refuse from ill-made carts constantly rumbling through the streets, so that the little cleanliness possible to Whitechapel householders became still more difficult of attainment. I was reminded of Mary McDowell's long campaign in Chicago against "the dumps" in the neighborhood of the University of Chicago settlement, my own early office as city garbage inspector, and could but wonder if all over the world at a certain stage in city development, it was inevitable that the waste in the comfortable amounts of the well-to-do must be carried through and into the districts inhabited by those who are constantly reproached for their lack of cleanliness. In this district of "uninhabitable habitations" they purchased some of the worst tenement property, remodeling it into houses both for artisans and unskilled laborers. The East End Dwellings Company finally emerged from this effort, as did open spaces and playgrounds in slowly increasing numbers. They inaugurated flower shows for the East End, the Art For Schools Association and many improvements in the board and parish schools themselves, from school breakfasts and play classes to the introduction of hand work in the St. Jude's Schools, which daring innovation cost them their government grants.

Many of these efforts were designed for the ill-prepared teachers in the district and for those who were as yet "pupil teachers." They were lured by travel, by lectures, by reading parties and study rooms to their further enlightenment. Such experiments were the forerunners of the Compulsory Continuation Schools which Mr. Fisher is now pushing so vigorously throughout England.

But it was, after all, the daily life of the sodden hopeless adults which they found most heartbreaking. Because of his passionate devotion to education and to the affairs of the mind Canon Barnett carried on an unceasing effort to make University Extension teaching more sympathetic and to devise new methods of imparting modern thought and culture to those so absolutely shut off from access to them. He welcomed the erection of mosaics—copies of great pictures—in the fronts of public buildings which might suggest "thoughts and hopes to passersby," as Watt's beautiful mosaic in the front of St. Jude's had done for many years; he arranged traveling parties to the great historic spots in England and on the Continent; he constantly secured oratorios and picture exhibits for the poorer parts of London; he used all the suggestions of a fertile intellect to make the National holidays more truly recreative. It was largely due to his unceasing efforts that a permanent Art Gallery was established in the East End and a free library on Mile End Road. Many of these larger enterprises were consummated after the establishment of Toynbee Hall and could not have been procured without the help of a group of public-spirited citizens living in the district.

The Settlement was but a natural outgrowth of Canon Barnett's long experience in an East End parish. In his many visits to Oxford he told the men that the English parish system, which had assumed people of sufficient leisure and ability to carry through the administration of civil affairs and to contribute to the education and social welfare of the whole had broken down, at least in East London. Each parish in the poorer areas was inhabited only by the very poor. All of those who had obtained better positions in the world had incontinently fled to other districts. He did not ask the Oxford men to go into East London with him in order to patronize the poor people for whom life was already overburdened, nor primarily to teach them. He asked them to go there in order to become the normal organs without which crowded cities are unable to keep the forms of civilization. He expected them to take up the social and civic duties which must be undertaken by someone if cultural forces are to find channels and instruments through which they can reach those who have every right to their beneficence. He found that the very theory of city government is challenged in a district deserted by all save the most helpless of the poor.

Perhaps Canon Barnett's greatest achievements came through the power which he possessed of setting men into right spiritual relations to one another, and certainly this is what he attempted to do from his very first advocacy of the Settlement, stoutly insisting that the human gains would be reciprocal. He reminded the young churchmen of the method by which the Son of God himself saved men; the political aspirants, that only through knowledge of the majority could they hope to weld classes into a nation.

Sidney Ball, in his own rooms in Wadhams which had belonged to Arnold Toynbee and still constituted a center for much spirited, philosophic and economic

talk, once told me of those stirring days in Oxford when he and his friends "swam on the crest of a sanguine adventure." It was in these rooms that the plans for the First University Settlement were determined upon in November, 1883. The discussion of the plans was softened and deepened by the fact that Arnold Toynbee, who had so persistently turned men's thoughts and faces toward industry and its problems, had died in March of the same year, so shortly after he had given himself "from the political economy of the school to the democracy of the street!" It certainly endeared the undertaking to many Oxford men that the Hall was to bear his name, and the scruples of many others were set at rest when Jowett gave his sympathetic sanction to the cause, and the hall of Balliol became the scene of one of the most successful of the many meetings in which Mr. Barnett made an earnest appeal on behalf of those masses of people "who live without knowledge, without hope and almost without health." Doubtless the generous young men eagerly responded, but hesitated to actually go to live in what one of them described as "the strange and dim outer world of East London."

It is nearly at the end of the first volume that Mrs. Barnett describes the opening of Toynbee Hall at Christmas, 1884, and until the duties of war scattered the residents in 1914, the succession of University men never failed, including some of the most distinguished men in England.

To know the history of Toynbee Hall, or for that matter, the development of the English Social Movement during the three stirring decades when it was most rapid, the two volumes must be read. Quite surprisingly interesting reading they make, without a touch of the pious memoir, illustrated by anecdote and personal contact not only with many men of brilliant intellect and resourceful purpose, but with all sorts of people, from Royalty itself to the tramp "with tightened belt and frightened soul," whom they found sleeping on the Lambeth Embankment close to the very palace of the Primate.

The dockers' strike, the crisis of unemployment, the episode of "Jack the Ripper," the careful research into conditions of labor by the Toynbee Commission and a hundred other public matters are presented with unfailing vivacity and interest. In quite a wonderful way the book clearly portrays the character of the warden of Toynbee Hall in the midst of this varied activity. He constantly urged "requisite knowledge" and at moments even deprecated "doing as a deadly thing;" he pointed out from time to time the irreparable mischief men of good will had done through their ignorance, the social schemes which had made no appreciable difference to the dwarfed and mutilated life in the East End. And yet no one could decry his idealism because of the remarkable combination in him of the idealist and the practical man, because of his astonishing ability as an organizer and administrator. It was said of him, "He carried his visions into committees; they never disturbed the business, but they made men feel that the business was worth doing."

Throughout the record of the years we are also kept in touch with a life of charming domesticity, of vacations and travels, hospitalities and friendships, the stimulus of changing environment with the inevitable difficulties of adjustment, the latter, curiously enough, never quite overcome in the house on the Little Cloisters of Westminster Abbey. There are many touching episodes connected with the cottage on Hampstead Heath where Mrs. Barnett's invalid sister and old nurse made a nucleus of family life—to this and to a neighboring house awkward little girls were sent who needed more training before the Society for Befriending Young Servants could recommend them; old women invited by the Toynbee Guild of Compassion to take a holiday from the impersonal bleakness of the work-house wards also came to a half-forgotten world of individual concern and affection. Deficient and invalid children were often added to the group in line with Mrs. Barnett's protest against a household limited to those of one age or special handicap. It is as if the sub-foundations of the beautiful Garden Suburb afterwards built at Hampstead Heath had been laid in deeds of loving kindness and of simplest human relationships. The suburb also registers the same protest for its eighteen hundred houses obviously shelter people of varied economic resource, although the artisan's cottage is quite as beautiful as its neighbor, the Manor House; each has its appropriate garden and they are all surrounded by skillfully designed open spaces and plantings.

Although I saw Canon Barnett many times in London, among the recollections of him that came crowding into my mind as I read the two volumes, perhaps the most vivid was a conversation with him at Bristol during a time he was in residence there as Canon of the Cathedral. We had gone to walk in Nightingale Valley, where the exquisite quality of sylvan beauty which seems to belong pre-eminently to English woodland was heightened by the long-enduring twilight and the multitude of homing birds, hushing their insistent twitterings as if they too were listening to the song of the nightingale who was at the moment sustaining the traditions of the valley with transcendent success. I was moved to ask Canon Barnett concerning his reaction "to all this" in contrast to Whitechapel. He replied that while as Canon of Bristol he had three months of "this" each year, that he had also been appointed a Curate to St. Jude's that he might serve the East End for the remaining nine months and perhaps yet realize the plans in which he had uninterrupted faith. He counted much upon the relationships he might be able to establish through this humbler capacity in the parish where he had so long served as Vicar. He set forth his faith in salvation through loving kindness, in strength through understanding with such humility, such piety, such yearning to know more fully the hard lot of the poor, that I had a sudden conviction that the beauty of holiness is a real thing, that to walk humbly with God is a human achievement, so beautiful as to be congruous even with the song of the nightingale and with evening light shining through the boles of trees. I was further convinced that it was not inevitable that we should always experience a peculiar disappointment, a sense of conspicuous failure when human nature inadvertently measures itself against a moment of poignant beauty in the outer world.

As we emerged from the ravine into the hard streets of Bristol, Canon Barnett pointed to a large house outside the city looming distantly through the night and told me that the man who lived there spent all his time hunting, ranging from birds in Scotland to big game in Africa, that he cared nothing for the cottages on his estate which had so shocked me that morning. Canon Barnett then added, "from my point of view, his

lack of social responsibility is as much of a disgrace to me, a servant of the Church, as are the wretched homeless men who sleep in the Commercial street doorways; or the long hours of grinding toil that result in absolute destruction of the human mind; or the stupidity and hardness of heart that proclaim a willingness to settle the problem of capital and labor by bullets."

That same evening I heard him talk with a group of Bristol dockers, amiably agreeing with them, that to abolish the Canons might well be the first step in "democratizing the Church," but no man there doubted his love for that church, nor his faith in her future, when he said to the men in almost the exact words I find recorded in the book, that he would be most willing to see working men ruling her if they would but be fed by her.

I was on my way back from the Paris Exposition where I had served as a juror in the department of Social Economics. My mind was full of a book much read in France in the summer of 1900, *"L'Imperieuse Bontè,"* whose author I have now forgotten, but whose contention that the passion to serve mankind may be as imperative as any other and sufficiently powerful to inhibit egotistic impulses and ambitions, seemed to me amazingly exemplified in this man. It is doubtless fairer to give his own explanation by quoting from one of the many letters the book contains: "For thirty-four years my wife and I have been engaged in social experiments. Many ways have been tried and always the recognized object has been the religion of the people."

It is said that Canon Barnett's greatness lay in his sense of direction so that those who knew him well, knew that they could steer by him as if he were a spiritual instrument. There is an inherent danger in continuing to follow the advice of those who are no longer in touch with the living world, but it is a testimony to the sound understanding which Canon Barnett possessed that at this moment when new social problems are emerging, or rather when those to which he devoted so much thought and energy, are assuming new shapes and insistently pressing for solution, his advice is still sane and vital.

A case in point is the present tendency to regard as obnoxious and to subject to prompt repression, all divergence from the orthodox political faiths or social creeds. We are glad to remember that Canon Barnett declared himself unequivocally against government by repression. One of his most scathing descriptions of the East End was, "This police controlled district, where education by mother and by schoolmaster, by policeman and by opinion, is education by repression. * * * It is no wonder that men and women are dwarfed, ugly and worn." Although often a sharp disciplinarian and quite willing to have the poor suffer from the results of their own folly, the discipline element in the administration of relief, at times, gave him grave doubts. He once wrote to his brother, "more and more I come to see that man has no call to punish man. He always fails in the attempt and his claim destroys him. Man must educate man but never assume the superior place of a condemner."

Another contemporary situation, for which we may seek spiritual direction from him, is the current tendency to label large bodies of men with obnoxious names and then to treat the men themselves as the public thinks the doctrines indicated by the labels deserve to be treated. It is as if our social judgment were insensibly falling back into those ancient categories which once divided men according to race or religion, whereupon they were harshly judged by men of other races or religions who applied their widely differing standards with much self-righteousness, but with no sympathy, no desire for understanding or power of interpretation. Canon Barnett stated over and over again that the only genuine service to men was to give each one the chance of helping himself by the power of that which was best within him; and that the discovery and training of this power must come through the knowledge and sympathy of personal friendship and could come in no other way. This position is the very antithesis of what we in the United States are allowing ourselves to drift into; the condemnation of masses and groups without taking the pains to establish personal relationships or to know the individuals of whom they are composed. It is part of our present tendency to fear the spread of false doctrines even more than we fear a curtailment of freedom in the expression of opinion and the fatal extinction of those variations with which new growth begins. Canon Barnett joined the fight waged in 1877 by Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant for the right of free publication, although he deplored their views and differed with them absolutely as to the value of their teaching. To quote from his wife, "he yet felt the danger of a gagged press to be so grave that he advocated freedom. But then in all matters he trusted in God more than he feared the Devil—and so was fearless of spreading opinion." In one of his own letters we find, "It is the old tale, as soon as a man learns to speak, he learns also to lie; but then it is good to learn to speak." Even such simple statements of the fundamental requirements for social progress are valuable to us now in this period of fumbling hesitation and social confusion.

Perhaps in a special sense the residents in contemporary settlements need at this moment to direct their course by his findings. Settlements have long passed the prophetic stage and have now fallen under criticism. It is openly suggested that they have fulfilled their mission and their best friends agree that they have shown their limitations. But this lessening enthusiasm is in a sense the result of success and not of failure. Settlements have become part of the established order of things, and as such partake of the inevitable flatness of the commonplace. Nevertheless, the assumption that they shall go on and be supplied with people qualified to do the work which Canon Barnett hoped for them, has become part of our sense of social obligation, recognized in England in the training courses of Barnett House in Oxford, at the London School of Economics and elsewhere; in all of the schools of Civics and Philanthropy in the United States and in the sociological courses in many of the colleges and universities.

The Settlements did not embody a mere passing mood as their first critics asserted, for the conditions which induced Canon Barnett to call so desperately for help to the men of Oxford, still persist. It was given to him to see the method of social work which he devised and developed, permanently established as part of a normal program of social reform in the great cities of England and America. But it is well for us still residing in settlements to read this life with care lest we forget that, although Canon Barnett

belonged to a generation which, knowing the triumphs of machinery, was impatient for a machine to deal with poverty, he was never content with institutions nor with the established philanthropic routine, but was always ready to lead a revolution if need be against his own past successes. He developed the faculty of feeling the moment when a movement is outworn, when the method must be changed.

Something of this characteristic of his is embodied in Barnett House, the memorial erected to his memory in the midst of the old established colleges in Oxford. There is a great vitality about it, expressed through the large groups of working men who come to utilize its library and its tutorial classes, through the vigorous Workers' Educational Association, whose Oxford headquarters for groups scattered throughout the British Isles are housed there. It is all vaguely reminiscent—as the cap and gown dimly suggest the monk's habit—of the demand for knowledge, the breaking into sacred precincts by another class which years ago created the University itself. Is the present generation of Oxford men a little uneasy at times as their medieval predecessors had been in the presence of those minds "who find their happiest exercise not along the beaten track but in self-guided speculation and inquiry"? One finds no trace of such uneasiness in Barnett House, only a readiness to help forward every inquiring mind, self-trained though it be, as if Canon Barnett's belief that "the revelation of God to our time comes by knowledge" was the orthodox creed of the House bearing his name, or was at least accepted as the dictum of a pious founder.

I first saw Barnett House in 1915 and was taken from basement to attic by Sidney Ball, who for twenty-five years had constantly introduced new Oxford men as candidates for residence to the warden of Toynbee Hall, and who had much to do with the plan for this Oxford memorial. As I came away from the house in company with Mrs. Barnett, she suddenly asked me, with that charming ability of hers to pass from grave to gay, "Do you think when it grows into a real college that they will say prayers for him as they do in the old ones and add a petition for 'Henrietta his wife'?" I promptly replied, "They certainly will if they remember his history." That Barnett House does remember his great spirit is evinced in many ways and perhaps one can say nothing more accurately of the future of settlements than to quote from its last statement:

> The war has changed no branch of social service so much as it has affected the Settlement movement. * * * On the other hand, changes in economic and industrial conditions, and the greater leisure now available for those engaged in industry, have created a new and urgent demand for the closer union which neighborhood affords and therefore more Settlements will probably come into existence.

A beautiful memorial tablet to Canon Barnett has been placed in Westminster Abbey, although his request was carried out that his funeral "be as cheap and simple as possible with the service in St. Jude's Church." The bronze repeats the advice so dearly familiar to his friends, "Fear Not to Sow Because of the Birds." In high relief at the right end of the tablet stands forth a sower, the free gesture in the sweep of his arm reminiscent of Millet. Through the dress of a British farmer one recognizes the figure and head of Canon Barnett as if careless of ecclesiasticism even in the beloved Abbey itself and eager to give the hard English soil one more sowing. While I stood looking at it on last Whitsunday, stirred by its message and its beauty, yet daring to question a little the admixture of portraiture and symbolism, a woman waiting near the organ loft to lead home her blind son kindly explained the tablet to me, concluding with the words: "You see he had lived for years with the poor in Whitechapel before he came here; it made him different from the others and all the people working round the Abbey and the Close liked him the best."

To those of us in America to whom he was at once the background and strong support of "Settlement life which is so curious a mixture of hope and frivolity, of casualness and constant endeavor," this record of his Life, Work and Friends, is a precious and inspiring possession. We echo the words spoken in Toynbee Hall at the memorial service: "He served God, he served mankind, he served the State, he served us, his remote followers."

Hull House, Chicago. JANE ADDAMS.

Women's Clubs and Internationalism

Because the genius of women is peculiarly practical, social and educational, club programs early became starred with topics of social hygiene, social betterment and social progress. The present vast organization of women's clubs is a body of ardent municipal housekeepers and state social workers and is becoming deeply involved in national concerns which have to do with the common well-being. To such a body no special reformer omits appeal of propaganda to secure if possible sympathetic aid.

Today in our own country, as in all other lands, there is one overmastering social interest calling for attention and effort, namely, the need to organize the world to substitute law for war in the settlement of international disputes. Differences of reaction toward the last war after it began have been both many and acute within the club membership as within all other social organizations. Some accepted war as a permanent, however regrettable, necessity; others accepted this last war as an unavoidable means of securing just and permanent peace; some have felt that human brotherhood forbade legalized, wholesale, human slaughter in any event. Whatever their differences, however, the vast majority of club women have done their full duty, in saving, in caring for the soldiers and their families and in sharing with a hungry and desolate world all their possessions.

This world is now convalescing from war's fever, although not yet in normal social health, and from all sides comes the call not only to aid with utmost generosity in the recuperative process, but also to take effective measures to protect humanity against another such experience. This great call of the hour, therefore, is to achieve some international mechanism which shall do for nations what legal procedure has done for individuals, namely, secure an organized living together for the general good. It is a call that echoes alike in political, legal, economic, educational and social areas. Women surely should heed and answer it.

We have learned to outlaw many ancient evils once thought necessary and to be always suffered. It is claimed that slavery had once its place in the upward march of the race; it gave leisure for a few men and women to set the patterns of human personality. Slavery is now outgrown because we see that all peo-

ple should be able to become persons; and that individual freedom is the first essential of personality. The subjection of women to men in the family order and the political state once had, it is claimed, its place in the upward march of the race. It gave men freedom to organize the physical and moral forces of the world into an order of civilization and it gave to offspring an assured home and constant care. The subjection of women is, however, now recognized as obsolete, not only because women, like men, need freedom for their own development, but because a more complex social order demands a socialized motherhood. So likewise may we say of war; it is claimed that it has secured great social gains of group loyalty and national idealism in crises of human struggle and has preserved indispensable private virtues. War, however, as Professor James has said, is "organized irrationality" in its cruelty and waste. It must follow slavery and the subjection of women into the place of the outgrown and the abolished. This is no revolutionary idea. It is but the application of the evolutionary process to the next great moral advance. We must get rid of war as one of the preventable social diseases. We can do this if we add to our sympathy and good-will a needed technique of social organization.

The women of twenty-two countries have organized, not merely to protest against war as an anachronism, but to help in a world organization that shall automatically prevent it. The women of our own country have initiated our Section of this world alliance. The women of the old world look to the women of the United States to make this Section strong in membership, in popular influence and in financial support. It should have thousands of members from the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Every woman who has helped to develop the club movement from a group devoted to self-culture to an army organized for human betterment, may well take this last step into the universal order of human comradeship.

The American President of the International League, Miss Jane Addams, heads the American women pledged to "promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from all countries who are working for the same ends."

The National Council of Women of the United States, of which the General Federation of Women's Clubs is a constituent member, has had a Committee on Permanent Peace working since 1890 for world comity among women. It has done much and can now, after the sad experiences of the last five years, which have shown us how intertwined are all human interests, lead to larger service if well supported by the great local organizations of women.

Can any thoughtful woman be indifferent to such vast social needs and opportunities?

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

ETERNAL COURAGE.

Is there a God? I shun the old debate.
If there is none, still will I strive with Fate
With such high courage, spite of every ban,
That you will know the Godlike is in man.

The Nautilus. —*Edwin Markham.*

NEWS FROM EUROPE

Personalities in the New French Cabinet.

To a correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian* our thanks are due for the following side lights:

M. Millerand's Ministry, which consists of fifteen Cabinet Ministers and ten Under Secretaries of State, is a curious combination. It is even less homogeneous than its predecessors during the last five years. One is surprised to find M. Steeg, as Minister of the Interior, the colleague of men like M. Isaac and M. Marsal, who are notorious for their reactionary opinions. M. Steeg's inclusion also surprises the "Echo de Paris," which considers it a blot on a Ministry otherwise fairly satisfactory from its point of view. But M. Steeg was recently re-elected senator as a candidate of the "bloc national," and he will no doubt accommodate himself to his surroundings, as he has been able to do in the past.

Only two of the new Ministers, M. Steeg and M. L'Hopiteau, are senators; 19 are deputies, and four are not members of Parliament. Nominally, 17 of them belong to groups of the Left—are Socialist-Radicals, Radicals, Socialist-Republicans, or, at least, "Republicans of the Left," but these labels mean absolutely nothing. Primarily, the Ministry is a combination of high finance and the big capitalist interests with which M. Millerand has long been closely associated in his professional capacity. The politicians are nearly all nonentities thrown in to appease the groups that will have no influence. It is a government in which four or five men will predominate and the others will not count, and that is what it is intended to be.

Most of the Parliamentarians in it are men who can never have dreamed that they would be offered a portfolio, and must be as surprised as everybody else is to find themselves where they are. This is a great weakness from the Parliamentary point of view, and from all accounts the new Ministry has not been at all well received in the lobbies of the Chamber. It has a "bad press." Its composition suggests a continuance of the dictatorial methods of M. Clemenceau and of his system of government by a small clique, in the present case composed mainly of men outside Parliament.

The general opinion in Parliamentary circles is that the new Government cannot possibly last long, but that opinion is often held about new Governments and often falsified in the event. The most important of the new Ministers, after M. Millerand himself, are M. Marsal, Minister of Finance; M. Isaac, Minister of Commerce; M. Ricard, Minister of Agriculture, and M. Ogier, Minister for the Liberated Territory. M. Isaac is one of the deputies for the Rhone; the other three are not in Parliament. M. Marsal, who is managing director of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, and is about 45, represents high finance. He is a reactionary in politics, and a Catholic, although his bank represents the Protestant financial interest. The appointment of a banker representing private financial interests to manage the national finance is an innovation, but since the financiers have long been the real rulers of France it is perhaps as well that they should have the responsibility as well as the power.

M. Marsal is a determined opponent of the income tax, but he admits in a recent article published in the "Revue Politique et Parlementaire" that a tax on incomes, and even one on capital, can hardly be avoided in present circumstances. But he prefers taxation on "the employment of incomes and salaries," which means in plain English indirect taxation of various kinds. Some of those mentioned by M. Marsal sound very oppressive. And he believes in the "equality of citizens before taxation," which means in plain English that he objects to graduation of income tax and to a super-tax on large incomes. He may be relied on to put as little taxation as possible on the rich and as much as possible on the poor.

M. Isaac is also a clerical and a reactionary—he is a member, says the "Echo de Paris," of an old Lyons Catholic family,—and he represents big business and the railway interest. He is ex-president of the Lyons Chamber of Commerce and a director of the P. M. L. Railway Company. M. Ricard, who is an agricultural engineer of great talent, represents the interest of the agricultural proprietors, who are at present exempted from income tax and desire to remain so. M. Ogier, who is an ex-prefect, represents the bureaucracy. It is a Ministry of all the interests.

H. S. N.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

NOTES OF THE UNITARIAN MEETINGS.

The Rev. Harry Foster and Mrs. Burns are to sail for England again this summer, on June 21st. Mr. Burns goes on behalf of the World Alliance for International Friendship. He says he will speak in all sorts of churches and before whatever gatherings there may be worth while opportunity. His preaching program includes such churches as Anerley Congregational Church, London; the church in Brighton of which Dr. Rhonda Williams is minister; Ward Chapel, Dundee, Scotland, of which Dr. K. C. Anderson, one time minister of the church in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, has been for many years the minister, and the Central Church, Bloomsbury Square, London.

Mr. Burns writes the following word of the May meetings:

John Morris Evans gave the meetings a great urge toward a dynamic faith, in his sermon Sunday evening in Arlington Street Church. With pointed epigram and illuminating figure he revealed the essential revolutionary, creative character of the Christian faith, in a way that should help greatly to set the complacent conservatism of Eastern religious liberals to re-examine itself and its real worth to the world.

There was the usual round of denominational organization activity, reports, elections, and what not; all with pretty much of the spirit of dull routine. It was as if these matters had been pretty largely predetermined and that it was expected that all the audience would need do was to put its stamp of approval upon the procedure.

The report of the committee on resolutions, as those who have been in the habit of attending these meetings anticipated, brought forth a lively not to say acrimonious discussion. Sixteen resolutions covering every vexed problem of the day from the League of Nations and the Armenian mandate to the continued incarceration of "conscientious objectors" was proposed for the resolve of the delegates. That these proceedings are almost wholly lacking in real significance was made perfectly clear, by one incident. Upon a resolution to ask the government at Washington to release those still held in prison for the expression of their religious convictions, there was a strong majority vote in the negative. This was manifestly under a feeling of protest against any tendency to approve the action of radicals, like Debs and O'Hare, whose names had been incidentally mentioned. Perceiving the situation quickly, Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers, in a telling speech ably seconded by William L. Sullivan, secured an affirmative vote for the reconsideration of the question, and within a few minutes the delegates had gone on record as strongly favoring the very resolution they had just defeated. What's the use? Why stir up this annual spasm of feeling by this attempt to get the whole body of people to decide "instanter" questions upon which one can have real convictions only after careful thought? It serves no useful purpose.

The great meeting of the week was that of the laymen. The chairman expressed his concern over the present state of affairs, in both Europe and America, and then concluded there was no real remedy except in religious faith and idealism. Mr. Ernest Adams, vice-president of the League, briefly but with burning conviction defined religion as "just responsibility to God," and such was his evident conviction, that he easily convinced his audience that he means to discharge that responsibility faithfully in his efforts to make the Laymen's League function effectively in the life of the denomination and of the nation. With prophetic insight Dean W. W. Fenn of Harvard gave the speech of the evening, setting forth with a veritable "impulse from on high," the sprit which had prompted the young men who had gone forth to die for their countries, in contrast with the spirit of greed and selfishness which has marked the proceedings since the armistice, and concluded with a ringing affirmation that despite all the discouragements, the men of faith and idealism would "yet win the peace." Doubtless, but when? How? However, if that spirit comes to possess the work of the laymen as it gives promise of doing, it means a birth of new life for the liberal faith.

One of the small but significant meetings of the week was that led by Miss Mitchell of England, who told of the "Fellowship Meetings" of the women of the English churches. The movement was born of the sense of the necessity of support from on high, if they were to be able to endure the terrible burden which war put upon them in 1917 and 1918. Meetings were held in the liberal churches, for prayer, meditation and quiet, with distinctly spiritual addresses. In spirit these were not unlike those conducted by the Friends. They met a great need. The demand for them grew apace, and still spreads. Miss Mitchell has found a very generous response among the churches of Unitarian faith in America.

Here is the new apology, the way to the new dynamic, for the free churches. If their houses can become houses of prayer indeed, where people go not primarily to hear an intellectually stimulating message from a preacher who is continually rushing through the latest books for material; but primarily to worship, to meditate, to wait for and to welcome the stirring of the spirit of God; if the churches can have that atmosphere and at the same time, and in consequence of this, they can welcome a ministry that speaks with utmost clearness of moral vision, and complete fearlessness, on the questions which affect the purses of those to whom he speaks, even moving against their prejudices, then and only then will the church become a mighty power for righteousness, and do her rightful work in the life of the nation and the world.

HARRY FOSTER BURNS.

THE LONELY TREE.

A twisted ash, a ragged fir,
A silver birch with leaves astir.

Men talk of forests broad and deep,
Where summer long the shadows sleep.
Tho' I love forests deep and wide,
The lone tree on the bare hillside,

The brave, wind-beaten, lonely tree
Is rooted in the heart of me.

A twisted ash, a ragged fir,
A silver birch with leaves astir.

—Wilfrid Wilson Gibson.

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Once when a peril touched the days
Of freedom in our English ways,
And none renowned in government
Was equal found,
Came to the steadfast heart of one,
Who watched in lonely Huntingdon,
A summons, and he went,
And tyranny was bound,
And Cromwell was the lord of his event.

And in that land where voyaging
The Pilgrim Mayflower came to rest,
Among the chosen, counselling,
Once, when bewilderment possessed
A people, none there was might draw
To fold the wandering thoughts of men,
And make as one the names again
Of liberty and law.

And then, from fifty fameless years
In quiet Illinois was sent
A word that still the Atlantic hears,
And Lincoln was the lord of his event.

So the uncounted spirit wakes
To the birth
Of uncounted circumstance.
And time in a generation makes
Portents majestic a little story of earth
To be remembered by chance
At a fireside.
But the ardours that they bear,
The proud and invincible motions of character—
These—these abide.

Abraham Lincoln. —*John Drinkwater.*

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